

# The Different Brazils in Abbé Raynal's *Histoire des Deux Indes*

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## Os Brasis na *Histoire des Deux Indes* do abade Raynal

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**ABSTRACT** This article compares and analyzes the sections on Brazil in the 1770, 1774 and 1780 editions of *Histoire philosophique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, by Guillaume Thomas François Raynal. The aim is to contrast the ideas disseminated by the current historiography about this eighteenth-century work, which was the most widely read of its time, with the judgments about Portuguese America that emerge in those editions. In effect, some issues stand out: first, the inhabitants and settlers of this new world, that is, Amerindians, then Blacks and Creole Portuguese — Brazilian-born settlers of Portuguese descent — and finally, its

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administration, highlighting the Pombaline period and the Indian Directorate. Contradicting the prevalent opinions that see this work as a “war machine” fired at oppression and colonialism, Raynal’s discourse, which is less consistent but contains a greater wealth of information and new value judgments, particularly in the last edition (1780), proves to be surprisingly benevolent towards colonial Brazil. Unlike repeated commonplace observations, the topics of the miscegenation of the settlers, the liberation of the Amerindians and the manumission of slaves — an explanation for the absence of revolts — foreshadow the themes of Freyrian Lusotropicalism.

**KEYWORDS** *Histoire des Deux Indes*, Abbé Raynal, Lusotropicalism

**RESUMO** Este artigo compara e analisa a parte sobre o Brasil na *Histoire philosophique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, de Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, nas edições de 1770, 1774 e 1780. Pretende-se confrontar as ideias difundidas pela historiografia corrente sobre esta que foi a obra setecentista mais lida à época, com os juízos que, nas suas várias edições, vão surgindo acerca da América portuguesa. Para efeito, recortou-se alguns temas: primeiramente, os habitantes e os povoadores desse Novo Mundo, isto é, ameríndios, depois, negros e portugueses *criolos* — colonos nascidos no Brasil de ascendência portuguesa —, e, por fim, a administração, destacando-se o período pombalino e o Diretório dos Índios. Contra as opiniões mais difundidas, que apresentam a obra como uma “máquina de guerra” disparada contra a opressão e o colonialismo, o discurso de Raynal, particularmente na última edição (1780), menos coerente mas com uma maior riqueza de informações e novos juízos de valor, revela-se surpreendentemente benevolente em relação ao Brasil colonial. Ao contrário dos repetidos lugares comuns, os tópicos da miscigenação dos colonos, da libertação dos índios e da alforria dos escravos, explicação para a ausência de revoltas, antecipam os temas do luso-tropicalismo freyriano.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE** *Histoire de Deux Indes*, abade Raynal, luso-tropicalismo

## **ABBÉ RAYNAL AND THE EDITIONS *HISTOIRE DES DEUX INDIES***

Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713/1796), better known as Abbé Raynal, the name to which his works are attributed, was a central figure in the publishing world of the European Enlightenment who, like many others, was educated by the Jesuits and renounced his religious vows. His most celebrated work, *Histoire philosophique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*,<sup>1</sup> generally referred to as *Histoire des deux Indes*, was one of the most widely read books in the Republic of Letters in the second half of the eighteenth century, figuring, according to J. Israel, “among the most notorious of all radical books” because it “clearly summoned the world’s oppressed to rise against their rulers in the name of liberty” (Israel, 2011, p.427, p.438). The first edition, published in French in six volumes, is anonymous and gives Amsterdam as the place of publication, dated 1770, but there are indications that it was actually published in Nantes.<sup>2</sup> Raynal produced two other editions based on the first in which he introduced substantial changes in the text, in 1774 and 1780, respectively, as well as reprinting it several times. Added to these are translations into other languages, so that between 1770 and 1795 — during the author’s lifetime — a total of 48 editions were published in several different countries (Bancarel, 1995, p.44). In the 1780s, over 100,000 copies were circulating throughout the world (Israel, 2011, p.431), and in the United States alone, by 1795 sales totaled roughly 25,000 copies (Ventura, 1988, p.40), making it one of the best-selling works of its time.

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1 RAYNAL, Guillaume Thomas François. *Histoire philosophique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols. Amsterdam: n.p., 1770. The bibliography on this author and his work is constantly growing, however see: COURTNEY; FORTUNY, 2003, p.37-113.

2 AQUARONE, 1972, p.86; MUTHU, 2003. A seventh volume was added in 1774. According to Aquarone and several other authors, the first edition was only published in 1772, but Jonathan Israel seems to disagree, stating that that was the year when it became known. ISRAEL, 2011, p.425.

In all the editions, Brazil makes up the ninth book, but due to additions to the text, which was translated in the largest number of volumes, it appears in book 3 in the 1770 edition and book 5 in the 1774 and 1780 editions. The aim of this paper is to analyze and compare these three editions with regard to Portugal's colonization of the Americas, particularly focusing on specific topics: first, the inhabitants and settlers of that New World, that is, Amerindians, Blacks and Creole Portuguese (a term that is not used in the original Portuguese sense,<sup>3</sup> but in the Hispanic sense), referring to settlers of Portuguese descent born in Brazil, and, secondly, aspects regarding its administration, particularly during the Pombaline period. To do so, we will seek to establish the similarities and differences between them. That way, it will be possible to observe the most significant changes introduced on these topics in all three editions, analyzing how they are constructed, seeking to identify the sources used,<sup>4</sup> when it is indispensable to this analysis, and determining how the broader view of the settlement of Portuguese America changed over time. Since its initial publication, this work has influenced a vast gamut of readers, both in Europe and Brazil. The breadth of its scope, both geographic and chronological, justifies the focus given, which in and of itself is quite broad and consistent. Unfortunately, it has been common practice among commentators of the *Histoire des deux Indes* to make general inferences based on a few sporadic fragments, overlooking many other portions in which the same matters are extensively referred to, and not always in a consistent fashion.<sup>5</sup> In this paper, we are less interested in the whole of Raynal's text than in some of the interpretations expressed in it regarding the points selected for analysis. These topics, despite the influences of the authors and writings to which he had access, are not

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3 In the modern Portuguese utilized within the empire, a *crioulo* was usually the child of African slaves and born into slavery, therefore, black. See LARA, 2007 and MONTEIRO, 2009, p.56-57.

4 Raynal's sources for Portuguese America are eclectic and varied, and expand over the course of the various editions. Given the vastness and importance of that subject, a specific article is being prepared on those sources and their appropriations in all the editions.

5 For example, PAGDEN, 1995, p.201-226; resumed and summarized in PAGDEN, 2013, p.168-170.

linked in the same way as they are in his sources,<sup>6</sup> some of which were certainly oral. As we will see, many of the opinions expressed on the abovementioned subjects are addressed in a very singular fashion.

Only three of the several printings of *Histoire des deux Indes* can be considered to be separate editions (1770, 1774 and 1780) due to the significant changes introduced into the body of the work — including text, images and maps. The rest are reprints or translations into other languages. The 1774 edition, which still does not bear the author's name, was published by Gosse fils in The Hague. It includes six illustrations on the title page of each volume, drawn by Charles Eisen, with some deletions and additions to the original work, as well as four maps drawn by Rigobert Bonne portraying Asia, South America and the West Coast of Africa, the Gulf of Mexico and North America, respectively (Aquarone, 1972, p.87). Both Eisen and Bonne were among the leading French engravers of their time. From 1773 onward, the work was illustrated with maps whose numbers varied and grew over time.<sup>7</sup> There is a similar edition, which was published in Neuchâtel and Geneva by the associated booksellers. The date on the title page is 1773, but Lise Andries states that it was only published in 1775, since it follows the model of the edition published in The Hague — 1774 — and could only have been released a year later. This is the edition that shows the author's name for

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6 For example, Raynal's appropriation when describing the indigenous peoples on the basis of Abbé Prevost's *Histoire générale des Voyages*. In that regard, see BROU, 1995, p.91-104.

7 A 1773 edition published in Amsterdam by E. Van Harreveldt was accompanied by the *Atlas portatif pour servir à l'intelligence de l'histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, primarily by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703/1772), hydrographer to the King of France. The 1780 edition, published in Geneva by Pellet, contains a more consistent set of maps in *Atlas de toutes les parties connues du globe terrestre: dressé pour l'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, composé par Rigobert Bonne (1727/1795). BONNE, Rigobert. *Atlas de toutes les parties connues du globe terrestre: dressé pour l'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* de Guillaume Thomas Raynal. Genève: J.-L. Pellet, 1780. Regarding the Atlas, see KANTOR, Iris. Impérios portáteis: três atlas na era das revoluções atlânticas. In: XAVIER, Angela Barreto; SILVA, Cristina Nogueira da (eds.). *O governo dos outros. Poder e diferença no império português*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2016 (in press).

the first time,<sup>8</sup> as well as a portrait of Raynal by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (Andries, 1995, p.16). Another important milestone in this work's history is the year 1780, when a new five-volume edition was printed. This time, the book was published in Geneva by Jean-Léonard Pellet. It bore the author's name, and many sections were expanded. In addition to the six images by Cochin, it also contains four new illustrations, all drawn by Jean-Michel Moreau *le jeune* (the younger), known for his illustrations of the works of Voltaire, also by Cochin (Andries, 1995, p.11). This 1780 edition also included synoptic tables that summarized the main products sold between the different overseas conquests and their respective European mother countries, and the value of those transactions.

Raynal's work was banned since it was first distributed in France. Its sale was forbidden by royal decree on December 19, 1772, and it was listed in the *Index* as of August 29, 1774 (Aquarone, 1972, p.88). The persecution of its author began in 1780 when the revised and expanded edition published that year bore Raynal's name and portrait. On May 19, 1781, the Paris Parliament issued a decree banning the work and ordering Raynal's arrest. He decided to go into exile, initially in Prussia,<sup>9</sup> only returning to France in 1787, initially on condition that he did not live in Paris. The French Revolution rehabilitated him, and was summoned to appear before the National Assembly in January 1790, but the letter he wrote the following year condemning the movement once again put him in the position of a renegade. He died on March 6, 1796 (Israel, 2011, p.442; Aquarone, 1972, p.90). In Portugal, Raynal's book was banned in 1773, and plans to translate it never materialized.

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8 However, most authors believe that that identification was only made in the 1780 edition. AQUARONE, 1972, p.88. MOUREAU, 2011, p.546. The frontispiece to one of the volumes of the 1773 edition identifying Raynal as the author can be seen in ANDRIES, 1995, gravure 5, p.21.

9 Here his biographers disagree. Aquarone states that at the time he was in Switzerland, where he had gone to supervise the printing of the edition, and from there, decided to go on to Prussia. AQUARONE, 1972, p.88-89. However, Jonathan Israel says that he was in Paris, and after being warned by some ministers, went to Spa in the Netherlands. From there he went on to visit some German princes in Prussia. ISRAEL, 2011, p.432-433.

Raynal's aim in writing *Histoire des deux Indes* was to give a broad description of the history of European colonization in the two Indies (East — Asia and Africa, and West — the Americas), covering a wide and varied range of subjects based on an encyclopedic approach whose main theme was the trade established between those regions, analyzing it from the perspective that the Europeans benefited from the conquest and exploitation of the New World. As was common at the time, this work had a number of collaborators, an aspect that was accentuated over the course of the three different versions, giving a somewhat fragmented and sometimes contradictory character to which Raynal, as the author and editor of that publishing enterprise, sought to give a common thread (Lusebrink; Strugnell, 1995, p.1-8). Some of those anonymous writers have been identified, particularly Denis Diderot, as of 1774, who became a veritable anonymous co-author and co-editor of the 1780 edition, when the list of participants significantly increased (Duchet, 1978). Many of those who have since analyzed *Histoire des deux Indes* have found large numbers of inconsistencies and inherent contradictions, frequently resulting from the fragmented writings of those different collaborators (Lusebrink; Strugnell, 1995, p.3). Despite this fact, the abbé's book must be viewed as a vehicle through which a group of Enlightenment scholars<sup>10</sup> expressed their ideas about modern European colonization. Furthermore, this did not prevent him from receiving suggestions from members of the administrative bodies of the French, Spanish and Portuguese monarchies! When discussing the different editions of *Histoire des deux Indes*, we refer to Raynal as its author, no matter whom the presumed or recognized writers of each section might be.

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10 Jonathan Israel calls them radicals, gathered around Diderot, Baron d'Holbach, Deleyre, Duclos, d'Alembert, Paulze, Saint-Lambert and Paulze, as well as Brissot, Condorcet, Volney and Chastellux. ISRAEL, 2011, p.416, p.422-423.

## THE DIFFERENT EDITIONS OF ABBÉ RAYNAL AND BRAZIL

On the very first page of *Histoire des deux Indes*, Raynal clearly states the importance of European (and particularly Iberian) expansion in the context of human history, describing it as an unprecedented revolution:

Il n'y a point eu d'événement aussi intéressant pour l'espèce humaine en général & pour les peuples de l'Europe en particulier, que la découverte du nouveau monde & le passage aux Indes par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance. Alors a commencé une révolution dans le commerce, dans la puissance des nations, dans les mœurs, l'industrie & le gouvernement de tous les peuples. (1770, book 1, p.1).

The first, most commented volume, begins with Portugal's expansion into the East. As of the second edition, it was entitled "Découvertes, guerres et conquêtes de Portugais dans les Indes orientales." However, we will not be focusing on that part of Raynal's work. Nor will we be looking at the comments, which are well known among Luso-Brazilian specialists, that he made directly regarding Portugal or the American Revolution, meriting a separate edition entitled *Révolution de l'Amérique* (London, 1781).<sup>11</sup> The abbé's writings about the Independence of the United States had a strong influence on the 1789 republican rebels in Minas Gerais, Brazil, called the Inconfidentes Mineiros, who interpreted the book as a formula for revolution in the colonial Americas (Furtado, 2006, p.69-86; Furtado, 2014, p.113-136); and on members of the Rio de Janeiro Literary Society in 1794 (Ventura, 1988, p.44), and its aspirations for independence. Because this is the best-known part of the work, it has been more widely studied in Brazil.

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11 This volume, which had a tremendous impact in many parts of the world, including Portuguese America, takes up from titles 38 to 52 of book XVIII part 4 of the 1780 edition of *Histoire philosophique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. See the Portuguese translation and study in: RAYNAL, Guillaume-Thomas François. *A Revolução da América*. Edited, with a preface by Luciano Raposo de Almeida Figueiredo and Oswaldo Munteal. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1993.



This paper takes a different direction by focusing on the volume on Portugal's colonization of Brazil. A Portuguese edition of book 9 was published in 1998, translated by Bete Cavalcanti with an introductory study by the translator, entitled *O Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Brasil*,<sup>12</sup> but it was based on a seventeenth-century edition, which contained few changes and minor additions, compared with the editions published during the author's lifetime. It should be stressed, in general, that this and other studies of that section of *Histoire des deux Indes* overlooked the changes made in the different versions of the text and did not call attention to some highly original comments it contains, which we intend to do here. One exception was Manfred Tietz, whose analysis distinguished between the three editions, but focused on what the author wrote about Portugal in comparison with Spain (Tietz, 1995, p.251-261). François Moureau refers to "l'évolution du texte entre les trois éditions de 1770, 1774 et 1780," but in his recent article on Brazil, he limits himself to comparing the editions with regard to the abbé's writings about the French India Companies (Moureau, 2011, p.548). When analyzing Raynal's view of the Amerindians on the basis of the 1770 edition, Muriel Brot recognized that there were changes and additions in the 1780 edition "qui en modifiaient légèrement le plan et qui altèrent un peu sa rigueur," but in her view, those changes do not significantly change the character of the work, and for that reason, she did not emphasize them (Brot, 1995, p.103). Hans Wolpe disagrees in his analysis of the work as a whole, and not just the part on Brazil. In his view, those substantial changes turned the *Histoire des deux Indes* into a "war machine" (Wolpe, 1956). Specifically regarding Portuguese America, when comparing the three editions (1770, 1774 and 1780), the aim of this paper is to state that the opposite occurred: Raynal's discourse was more consistent in the first editions, even if there is a

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12 RAYNAL, Guillaume Thomas François. *O Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Brasil. Livro nono da História Filosófica e política das possessões e do comércio dos europeus nas duas Índias*. Translated, with a preface by Berenice Cavalcanti. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional/ Brasília: Ed. UNB, 1998.

greater wealth of empirical information in the last one that substantially enriches the text and gives it new meanings.

The three editions discussed here contain considerable discrepancies in book 9, which does not have a title in the first edition, but in the last two is entitled “Etablissement des Portugais dans le Brésil. Guerres qu’ils y ont soutenues. (Productions & richesses de cette colonie, added in the 1780 edition)/Portuguese Establishments in Brazil. Wars confronted there. Production and wealth of that colony.” The first edition, does not have a table of contents, nor is it divided into subtitles, unlike the latter two. Book 9 of the second edition contains seventeen subdivisions or chapters, and the last edition, published in 1780, contains thirty, which are summed up in their respective tables of contents. However, the biggest differences are those found in the first and third editions. Otherwise, the 1780 edition could be called the definitive one. Indeed, it was the last and the main change in the text that was made during the author’s lifetime. Numbers were added to the posthumous editions,<sup>13</sup> but the text was not significantly altered, although changes were made here and there. It is also the 1780 edition, almost word for word, with some updates and deletions, which is republished in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* under the entry “Brésil,” which is part of the *Économie politique et diplomatique* section published in 1784.<sup>14</sup>

We do not intend to summarize all the changes that, in many cases, involve entire chapters, or even parts of chapters that were changed or moved. In any case, the best-known changes were the sections introduced in the 1780 edition. They include the addition of a long chapter entitled “Plaintes d’un prédicateur Portugal à Dieu, sur les succès d’une nation hérétique/Complaints to God from a preacher on the success of a heretical nation,” which is an almost full transcription of Father António Vieira’s “Sermon for the Success of Portuguese Arms against those of Holland” (1780, l.9, p.381-386); a new and very important chapter

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13 This is the case with the 1820 edition, which is the basis for the Brazilian edition published in 1998.

14 Brésil. In: *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. Économie politique et diplomatique. Paris: Panckoucke, 1784, p.396-413.

on the “Gouvernement civil, militaire & religieux établi dans le Brésil/ Civil, military and religious government established in Brazil” (1780, l.9, p.406-413); others about the governments of different territories (Pará, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio, São Paulo and parts of Minas Gerais - 1780, l.9, p.414-430), and the history of the discovery of gold and diamonds, the main sources of mineral wealth found in the eighteenth century onward (1780, l.9, p.431-442), partly from the original 1770 text, but with many additions and a different structure. The final part of the text in all three editions, as Manfred Tietz observes (1995, p.273), is marked by condemnation of Portugal's economic and political dependence on Britain, based on *Discours Politique sur les avantages que le Portugal pourroit retirer de son malheur. Dans lequel l'auteur développe les moyens que l'Angleterre avoit mis jusques-là pour ruiner cette monarchie*, by a little-known French author, Ange Goudar, dated 1756 and wrongly attributed to the Marquis of Pombal, an attribution experts no longer accept.<sup>15</sup> Raynal follows that author's line by pointing out the aggravation of that dependence after 1703 and the Methuen Treaty, which, he wrote, resulted in the virtual economic ruin of Portugal, but he foresees a possibility of change following the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755. In a prophetic tone, he sees this event as a tipping point that could make radical changes in the structure of the empire, because he believes that “des phénomènes destructeurs, peuvent renouveler la face des empires” (1780, l.9, p.466),<sup>16</sup> and that Brazil would be one of the agents of that

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15 The authorship was established by BARRETO, 1982, p.385-422. The original title of the book begins with *Relation Historique du tremblement de terre survenu à Lisbonne le premier novembre 1755. Avec un détail contenant la perte en homes, églises, convents, palais, maisons, diamans, meubles, marchandises etc. Précédé d'un discours politique sur les avantages que le Portugal pourroit retirer de son malheur: dans lequel l'auteur développe des moyens que l'Angleterre avoit mis jusques-là en usage pour ruiner cette monarchie*. José Barreto argues that Pombaline policies were pro-British and that the text could not have been written by Pombal, although the marquis owned a copy of it.

16 “Enlightenment thinkers established [a connection] between nature and human action. It was due to this relationship that, for these thinkers, the study of nature took on a political dimension. In the words of Abbot Raynal... ‘nature in America is revolutionary’. As this author saw it, the close connection between the two forces of man and nature produced a causal relationship, and was the only factor able to explain the American Revolution” (FURTADO, 2014, p.193).

change, through the establishment, which he wanted to see consolidated, of free trade with Portugal, Africa and the Atlantic islands.

However, the most substantial differences between the editions of the *Histoire des deux Indes* have to do with the fact that the 1780 edition includes much more information and new value judgments on the populations of Portuguese South America in general and the Portuguese administration in particular. Regarding the latter aspect, although Raynal's opinion on Pombaline trading companies is negative due to their monopolistic nature, which went against the belief in the benefits of free trade, in general, his assessments of Pombaline policy are substantially more positive than in the previous editions and, on several matters, the statements are highly unusual and even surprising. We will focus on some of those issues here.

As we have stressed, the aim of this paper is not to summarize the famous abbé's book or identify its sources, but rather to highlight the treatment given to specific issues and how they developed and changed in the three editions. First, we will examine how the inhabitants of Portuguese America are described and analyzed, both the indigenous peoples and those who arrived in the wake of European colonization.

### ABBÉ RAYNAL AND THE "BRAZILIANS"

Let us start with the Amerindians. We know that, in the first edition, this section is mostly a rewriting of chapter 9 of book 14 of *Histoire générale des Voyages*, by Abbé Prévost.<sup>17</sup> Muriel Brot has compared the two texts and pointed out that the deletions and additions Raynal made changed the meaning of the original. According to Brot, *Histoire des deux Indes* had been a "war machine"<sup>18</sup> since its first publication, and the section on the

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17 PRÉVOST, Abbé. *Histoire générale des Voyages*, vol. 14. Paris: 1746-1761. Raynal was educated in Jesuit colleges. After he completed his studies and took his first vows, he became an abbé in Pézenas, a village South of Montpellier. He was stripped of that post, and left the order when he pronounced his third vow, of obedience to the Pope, although we do not know exactly what prompted him to do so. GOGGI, 1991, p.46-48; BROT, 1995, p.91.

18 This contradicts Hans Wolpe and Michèle Duchet, who argue that this was only true in the third edition. WOLPE, 1956; DUCHET, 1991, p.9.

indigenous peoples had not changed significantly since the 1780 edition (Brot, 1995, p.91-104). Unlike Brot, by comparing the three editions we intend to show how, based on the deletions and small but significant additions, Raynal's view of the Amerindians visibly changed in each of them.

According to Raynal, the Portuguese presence in Brazil, "un continent immense de l'Amérique méridionale" (1770, l.9, p.321), began due to fortunate happenstance and initially continued with relative lack of interest. By extending the name of the Indies to all of the Americas, "les Américains furent appelés fort improprement Indiens" (1770, l.9, p.322). At the time of the discoveries, "le Brésil était rempli de petites nations [des Indiens] dont les unes habitaient au milieu des forêts & des montagnes, & les autres dans des plaines ou sur des rivières" (1770, l.9, p.327).

Raynal calls the natives "Brazilians," because it was they, and not the colonists, who were the "naturels du pays," and that is how he refers to them throughout the book. It is interesting to note that this name appears in the previous literature,<sup>19</sup> but in the eighteenth century the term Brazilian was more commonly used to designate traders from Brazilian ports directly engaged in the slave trade with Africa,<sup>20</sup> having taken on a more negative connotation. In contrast, by describing the Amerindians as noble savages living in a natural state of peace and happiness, Raynal makes the term Brazilian highly positive. They were said to be the true lords of the land, unlike Portuguese colonization, which was artificial by its very nature, because "rien de plus bizarre que de voir l'Europe transportée & reproduite pour ainsi dire en Amérique par le nom & la forme de nos villes, par les loi, les mœurs & la religion de notre continent" (1770, l.9, p.322-323).

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19 The use of this term has many other precedents, such as Charles Dellon, who refers to them that way in his passage on Brazil in the famous *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*. Leiden: Daniel Gaasbeek, 1687.

20 This can be seen in the correspondence between Ambassador Dom Luís da Cunha and the Marquis de Abrante: "And there is no doubt about the Brazilian practice, rescuing the blacks from the hands of the Dutch." Lisbon. Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo (ANTT). Ministério dos Negócios Exteriores (MNE). Caixa 789. Carta de dom Luís da Cunha para o marquês de Abrantes, 7 out. 1728, f.15v. See, in this regard, among many others, PIMENTA, 2006, p.69-80.

The importance and magnitude of the indigenous peoples in the whole of the text is not accidental, because they stand in contrast to the Europeans, described as corrupt and avaricious, perverted by the greed caused by mercantilist trade. This positive assessment of the Amerindians was an echo of the myth of the noble savage built up since the sixteenth century on the basis of the writings of André Thevet, Jean de Léry and M. Montaigne. The expropriation of that myth was linked to a broader understanding of history, characterized by being part of a process of civilization in which that primitive indigenous society corresponded to the first stage of human civilization. Thus, it was an elaboration by that group of Parisian Enlightenment scholars (Blom, 2011) of a primitivist mythology of history characterized by a highly positive state of nature.<sup>21</sup> According to *Histoire des deux Indes*, innocence, purity, well-being, abundance and felicity reigned supreme in that natural state. The Amerindians knew nothing about work and “manger, chanter, danser c’est tout leur bonheur; ils n’en connaissent pas d’autre.” This was possible because the soil of that land was believed to be so fertile “qu’in homme un peaux laborieux peut de jours cultiver de quoi vivre une année” (1770, l.9, p.330). In Raynal, that natural state “marque une étape de l’évolution de l’humanité” (Berthiaume, 1995, p.232), and arguing that that initial stage existed took on a pedagogical character. It is interesting to note that in the first edition of book 9, the author used the terms “barbarian” and “barbarity” about eleven times, in seven of which, for the most part, they are associated with and describe European nations (Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France and Britain), and in two they are specifically used to describe the Inquisition (1770, l.9, p.325, p.359, p.401, p.411, p.420, p.424, p.425). The Amerindians are only referred to as barbarians four times, and in the latter two, only to criticize the use of that term by the Europeans when referring to them. Thus, the Carijós from the region of the São Vicente Captaincy were

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21 Not all Enlightenment scholars shared that positive opinion, such as Voltaire and Cornelius de Pauw, who had a negative view of the natives of the Americas. BERTHIAUME, 1995, p.231; MOUREAU, 1998, p.124-125.

amazed when they were treated like barbarians, because it was they who respected justice and were loyal to their allies (1770, l.9, p.337, p.338, p.340, p.353).

This primitivist idyll was threatened by the arrival of the Europeans and their lust for Mammon. It is no coincidence that in the 1774 edition, to which Raynal added illustrations, the frontispiece to book 9 “insiste plus clairement sur les méfaits du commerce lorsqu’il est motivé par la seule avidité des non tempérée par la philosophie” (Andries, 1995, p.23), although it does not directly refer to Amerindians or Brazil. Instead, while a philosopher engraves a condemnation of the desire for gold in a pillar, men are being violently hauled off to work, probably in the mines, while in the background, Portuguese or Spanish ships lie at anchor awaiting the fruits of their toil to carry it to Europe, supplying their trade circuits.

A concept that the Enlightenment scholars held dear was the policed state, signifying civility, maturity of political and social institutions and symptomatic of moral progress and the advance of civilization in any society. According to Raynal, nationalism was a structuring concept, and over the centuries essential to the cohesion of policed states (1770, l.9, p.331), but the Amerindians were unfamiliar with that sentiment, which was appropriate to the natural state in which they lived. Nevertheless, that absence of patriotism did not result in a state of anarchy and “les divisions sont très-rares parmi eux.” Conflicts were quickly resolved according to their customary rules (1770, l.9, p.332). But even if they were unfamiliar with patriotism, the Amerindians could have a more policed society, even more so than the European states at that time, which considered themselves more socially and politically advanced. According to Brot, this was of the most important inversions Raynal made in comparison with the available literature on the Amerindians at the time, which was made possible by subtracting from and adding to the text by Abbé Prévost. This philosophical novelty is said to arise from the opposition of a thesis (that Brazilians are inferior to Europeans) and the demonstration of its antithesis (that Brazilians are superior to Europeans) (Brot, 1995, p.100).



When describing the missionary process of the Jesuits, to whom he also attributes a positive character in the early days of colonization (which is gradually abandoned),<sup>22</sup> Raynal once again inverts the civilized world of the Europeans and the barbarism of the natives by playing with the terms policed state, progress, savagery and errant. He says that the Jesuits taught the Amerindians a love for justice, brotherly charity and horror at human blood, giving them humanity.<sup>23</sup> In his view, it was impossible to compare the progress that “les Jésuites ont fait en très-peu de temps dans l’Amérique méridionale avec ceux que les armes & et les vaisseaux des cours d’Espagne & de Portugal n’ont pu faire en deux siècles.” He states that the thousands of soldiers from those countries transformed their two large policed empires into a desert of errant savages, while a few missionaries changed the errant Brazilian nations into large and numerous policed peoples (1770, I.9, p.338). The concept of the policed state was attributed to the Brazilian natives and denied to the Portuguese and Spanish empires, making clear the moral basis on which the history of humanity was being judged.

As we have seen, Raynal’s descriptions of the indigenous peoples are broadly based on *Histoire générale des voyages* by Prévost, who in turn based himself on several works, such as those by Jean de Lery, Antony Knivet, François Coreal and Johann de Laet. However, although Raynal uses those travelers to describe indigenous customs, this does not always mean that the meanings he attributes to them are the same found in his sources, which reveals the innovative nature of *Histoire des deux Indes*. A paradigmatic example that denotes the richness of the interpretive keys that the book permits is his analysis of the constant state of war that reigned among the small and numerous local tribes. Like Prévost, whom

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22 Raynal initially describes them as intrepid, magnanimous, rare, corageous, intelligent, active men who “n’avoient dans la bouche que les tendres noms de paix & de charité” (1770, I.9, p.337), but later, infected by the spirit of Rome, the most corrupt and intrigue-ridden court in Europe, they got involved in the political sphere of all Catholic nations, becoming ambitious, fanatical and corrupt (1770, I.9, p.338-339).

23 This section is an adaptation of the work by the Jesuit Pierre du Jarric, who was one of the greatest propagandists of the Jesuits’ missionary work, particularly in Brazil. BROU, 1995, p.101.



he copies almost word for word, he believes that “l’origine de leurs plus sanglantes invasions a toujours été de venger la mort de leurs parents ou de leurs amis.” But Raynal makes an addition and a subtraction. The addition, which is unique and different, is that he begins this section by stating that neither “l’intérêt ni l’ambition n’ont jamais conduit les Brésiliens à la guerre.” By adding this observation, he stresses that, in this, they are once again different from the Europeans, whose greed always drove their conflicts — another indication of the positive view of the primitive state of nature, in contrast with the decadent state of the so-called civilized European nations (1770, I.9, p.334).

The subtraction has to do with the information that the Amerindians ate those savages.<sup>24</sup> Muriel Brot argues that, compared with Prévot’s text, *Histoire des deux Indes* significantly suppresses references to cannibalism among the Brazilians, and the aim of that deletion is to bolster his arguments about the policed character of the Amerindians’ state of nature and the myth of the noble savage that it embodies (Brot, 1995, p.94-96). In fact, this process can be clearly seen since the first edition. Not only is cannibalism not condemned, but it is justified, as in Thevet, Lery and Montaigne (Lestringant, 1997, p.81-103), due to its ritual aspect — a sign of civilization — and not because of a taste for human flesh — a sign of savagery. Also, in a passage that states that the Brazilians began eating Europeans, Raynal gives a justification for that: it was a reaction to the enslavement to which they had been subjected by the latter. This is yet another reversal of the roles traditionally attributed to the savage Brazilians and civilized Europeans, suggesting that the former “sont moins barbares et plus intelligentes que les Portugais” (1770, I.9, p.335-336).

However, in the 1774 edition, Raynal reverses his narrative about cannibalism. To do so, he sets the indigenous nations apart in three stages of civilization or “âges de la raison” that can be understood according to the fate of prisoners of war. In the more policed nations, the prisoners were exchanged after peace was agreed; in semi-barbarous ones, they were enslaved, and in the most savage ones, they were tortured, butchered

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24 PRÉVOST, Abbé. *Histoire générale des Voyages*, vol. 14. Paris: 1746-1761, p.270; BROT, 1995, p.95.

and eaten. The savages who adhered to cannibalism are now considered bizarre, murderous maniacs, afflicted with some kind of disease. The victims are no longer eaten within a previously prescribed ritual but hunted and cornered in the forest, where the horde kills them, falls on their corpses and devours them (1774, l.9, p.332).

Now we see a clear condemnation of those who kill senselessly and take pleasure in eating human flesh because “l’homme policé vit de son travail; l’homme sauvage vit de sa chasse” (1774, l.9, p.332). On one hand, this condemnation reflected the difficulty French Enlightenment thinkers had in taking a positive view of cannibalism in the Americas (Brot, 1995, p.96); on the other hand, it serves as a moral condemnation of other vices of the so-called policed societies/nations that were said to be equivalent to them. In this edition, *Histoire des deux Indes* turns anthropophagy into a metaphor that is then then equated with laziness, which is extremely harmful to policed societies that should value labor and working for a living (1774, l.9, p.333-334).<sup>25</sup> If the explicit condemnation of cannibalism involves a negative view of indigenous societies, treating it as a metaphor transfers that negativity to the supposedly civilized European nations, while reinforcing the reversal of the values traditionally attributed to the two societies.

This metaphor, which takes up nearly two pages of the 1774 edition, disappears in the 1780 edition to give way to a vehement condemnation of anthropophagy. Now Raynal criticizes those who for a long time believed that the existence of that custom was a mere figment of the imagination and the “philosophes qui cherchaient à justifier cette pratique de plusieurs peuples sauvages.” He asks how anyone could fail to consider cannibalism criminal or morally repugnant and describes the

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25 The relationship between cannibalism and laziness is established in several works on Brazil, such as that by Father José de Anchieta. Gabriel Soares de Souza, in *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil* (1587), Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco/Editora Massangana, 2000, distinguishes between the ritual cannibalism of the Tupinambás, and the cannibalism of the Tapuai Aimorés, who lived on human flesh, in addition to describing several barbarian customs: they did not live in villages, slept in the forest merely by placing a leaf on the ground, did not practice agriculture and only ate wild fruit. Meat was eaten raw or barely cooked when they had fire (p.79).

harmful consequences that could arise, because the taste of human flesh would encourage tyrants to take pleasure in the blood of others (1780, l.9, p.372). In contrast, the vehement condemnation of anthropophagy is accompanied by a substantial decrease in references to the policed state of indigenous societies, revealing the weakening of this teaching and moralizing interpretive key, so central to the text of the *Histoire des deux Indes* in its first edition — that the Amerindians were more civilized than the European invaders. Brot's analysis of cannibalism is therefore only valid for the 1770 edition, exposing the weakness of interpretations that focus on just one of the editions.

Raynal argues that the fact that native languages do not have any words to “exprimer des idées abstraites & universelles, ni même aucun être moral” was proof “la plus sensible du peu de progrès qu’y on fait les esprits” (1770, l.9, p.329). However, if that attested to the Brazilians’ intellectual inferiority to the Europeans, their lack of religion ensures their superiority because they had no “obligation d’honorer un être suprême qu’ils ignorent.” Their lack of religion and belief in a supreme being, or a concern for the future and even the absence of concepts of dependence and submission, all of which were structuring ideas for Western European society, were believed to result in the absence of violent revolutions among the natives, since for them power was ephemeral, held only temporarily by the elders (1770, l.9, p.330-331). In the 1774 edition, all of these absences allow Raynal to go even further and describe the natives as atheists who only devoted their esteem to the brave warriors of their own tribe who slaughtered their enemies (1774, l.9, p.327-328), further accentuating his criticism of the “double political and religious despotism of policed societies” (Goggi, 1991, p.45-46; Brot, 1995, p.99), one of its worst degenerations. We cannot understand this section without paying attention to the fact that the circles of Diderot and Baron d’Holbach adhered to atheism. In one of his most important works, *Christianisme dévoilé* (1761), d’Holbach argued that “not only was religion a tissue of absurd stories, but also failed to make people better, or more obedient citizens. On the contrary, it was nothing but an instrument of oppression” (Blom, 2011, p.95).

As the first chroniclers of the Americas had attested in the sixteenth century, “les Brésiliens sont en général de la taille des Européens” and “avant d’avoir vue des Européens, ils ne connaissaient aucune espèce de vêtement” (1770, I.9, p.328).<sup>26</sup> There is a small but revealing change in this last section in the following edition, published in 1774. Now, according to Raynal, “autrefois ils ne connaissaient aucune espèce de vêtement. Depuis notre invasion, ils se couvrent communément le milieu du corps” (1774, I.9, p.326). The expression “our invasion” reflects an even more radical position regarding the arrival of the Europeans in the Americas. First, Raynal emphasizes its negative and illegitimate character of conquest and then takes on for himself and, by extension, the other Enlightenment philosophers, collective responsibility for that disaster. Nevertheless, this observation disappears completely from the 1780 edition (1780, I.9, p.365), weakening that once vehement condemnation.

### ABBÉ RAYNAL, THE BLACKS AND SLAVERY

One topic that enables us to distinguish how *Histoire des deux Indes* treats Brazilians and blacks is slavery.<sup>27</sup> It is noteworthy that although there is a general condemnation of slavery, both of Amerindians and Africans, it is nuanced in the case of Brazil. We will see why. Regarding the latter, although since the first edition any form of oppression or tyranny by one people over another is condemned because “défend le droit de tous les hommes à être traités comme tels” (Duchet, 1991, p.14), a section of the 1780 edition makes that condemnation even more explicit. There, Raynal charges that the Portuguese ripped thousands of slaves from the “unhappy” shores of Africa, as they made up most of

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26 It also omits the information that their hair did not go white with age, as well as a number of details on how they came to dress (1774, I.9, p.326). The 1780 edition also omits a conjecture that it would be possible to discover the origins of native Americans by studying African and Asian languages (1780, I.9, p.366).

27 A comparison of all editions of Raynal that does not include the volume on Brazil can be found in CURRAN, 2011.

the merchandise taken from that continent, where they were purchased in exchange for baubles, trinkets and bits of glass and later sold in the colony in exchange for the gold, tobacco, spirits and cotton produced there (1780, l.9, p.444).

First, let us take a look at what is said about the enslavement of the natives so we can establish a comparison with the way the blacks were treated. According to Raynal, the Amerindians were the first to be enslaved by the Portuguese, particularly in the Amazon, when the religious orders established themselves there. In that region, the settlers planted a cross and charged the Brazilians with taking care of it. If they disobeyed, they were then reduced to servitude. Raynal laments that the cross had become a “*signe de mort & d’esclavage pour les Indiens*,” a clear condemnation of the enslavement of the Amerindians. Because many did not tend to the cross, the number of slaves grew significantly and the Portuguese used them instead of “*de bêtes pour la culture*.” *Histoire des deux Indes* furnishes a timeline for that enslavement in the Amazon region: in 1641, it involved the natives of the Madeira and more distant rivers; in 1719, the Maynas, in 1733, those in the missions on the Napo River, and in 1744, those at the source of the Orinoco. Amerindians from the missions helped capture them, urged on by the missionaries, who “*encourage chrétiennement les Indiens à attaquer les nations voisines pour faire des esclaves*” (1770, l.9, f.367-368). This entire section, which clearly condemns indigenous slavery, is still present in the 1774 edition (1774, l.9, f.363-364), but simply disappears from that published in 1780 (1780, l.9, p.400-401), a symptom of the dubious character that slavery in Brazil acquires in *Histoire des deux Indes* over the course of its editions.

However, completely different from contemporary literature, in the 1770 edition, black Africans are presented to the reader in harmonious symbiosis with the native Brazilians. The description begins with a warning in which Raynal states that slavery was one of the factors that influenced the Portuguese national character, from which a critique of that institution exudes. Then, he distinguishes between the way slaves were employed in Portugal — in domestic service and working the

land — and in Brazil, where they had been introduced in 1530 to supply manpower for processing sugarcane. From then on, the number of blacks had multiplied prodigiously. Raynal returns to the theory that the natives of the country were unfit for hard labor, which is not stated explicitly in the first edition but instead in that of 1774, where he states that “le travail est insupportable à ces sauvages” (1774, l.9, p.327). That incapacity is said to have forced the colonists to transfer the heavier tasks to the Africans and, according to him, the Europeans even encouraged the natives to take on less brutish occupations and, that way, supplied them with some means of subsistence (probably a reference to cassava and maize).<sup>28</sup> Although this might surprise the reader, in his view this resulted in a compromise that was so positive that it was highly advantageous for all (1770, l.9, p.340-341)! The 1780 edition shortens, changes and softens this passage. The introduction of slave labor moves up to 1570, the increased number of slaves is linked to the growing consumption of sugar, and the text limits itself to stating that the “bras nerveux du negre” were added to the “aux travaux languissants des Indiens, qu’elle prit des accroissements” (1780, l.9, p.376).

In the 1770 edition, the second reference to African slaves appears in the section on Bahia. There, African slaves made up the majority of the population, employed in farming and sustaining the luxurious lifestyles of the indolent elites “à grossir le cortège, à soutenir la représentation des riches” (1770, l.9, p.383), whereas in the mining region, in the captaincy of Minas Gerais, they were employed in the extraction of gold that had been found in the riverbeds. To exploit it, it was necessary to separate the metal from the soil and mud “où la nature l’a caché.” In this section, he describes the conditions to which the slaves were subjected there, which, to our knowledge, does not appear in any contemporary text and has only very recently attracted the attention of historians. The production the masters expected from each slave for a day’s work

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28 In the 1770 edition he mentions two roots that reached the thickness of an arm and grew half a foot in three months (1770, l.9, p.329), but in the 1774 edition he refers to them generically as “some roots” (1774, l.9, p.327).

was said to be 1/8th of an ounce of gold, but if the “esclaves negres sont condamnés à chercher l’or,” the advantage was that they could keep the surplus production, and if they paid the daily tariffs for their work, the master could not require anything more from them. In possession of surplus gold, “le premier emploi qu’il en fait, est d’acheter d’autres esclaves qu’il charge de son travail & du soin de le faire vivre à son tour dans l’opulence.” This is a surprising description of the day-labor system that prevailed in the mining region, even if it was more common for hired-out slaves and not so much for those employed in mining, and is believed to have enabled them to obtain a large number of manumissions (Paiva, 1996). This observation leads Raynal to make one of the most surprising statements in his work, that “c’est encore une douceur dans l’esclavage que d’en pouvoir sortir par les peines même que s’y trouvent attachées” (1770, l.9, p.384-385). At this point, despite the damning overall tone of *Histoire des deux Indes* in relation to slavery, in the case of Brazil, when observing the softening of that institution and the mildness that prevailed,<sup>29</sup> the criticism becomes less forceful, even in the 1780 edition, in which Diderot had greater influence, and normally attributed with toughening its stance against slavery.

The 1774 edition introduces small but significant changes to this section. Black slaves are now referred to generically as *noirs* (blacks), without making any further direct comments about slavery in this part of the work. The text states that, instead of living in opulence, they lay about after paying the prescribed tariff (no longer a tariff on their labor), underscoring the fact that blacks could live in Brazil without working, exploiting the labor of their slaves. The change in the last sentence of this paragraph is also very suggestive. In addition to allowing them to free themselves of their inherent sufferings, this system could enable them to “relâcher ses chaines” (1774, l.9, f.380), that is, to achieve freedom.

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29 Without attempting to discuss Raynal’s sources, it should be noted that the argument maintaining the milder treatment of slaves can be seen in the works of several Jesuit authors, such as Jorge Benci, in *Economia Cristã dos Senhores no Governo dos Escravos* (1700). São Paulo: Grijalbo, 1977, and Father Antonil, in *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (1711). São Paulo: Edusp, 2007; regarding the later, see the observations by BOSI, 1992, p.162.



Raynal is not clear, but such linguistic subtleties allow us to read between the lines, revealing another soft side of Brazilian slavery — that blacks could achieve freedom through *quartação*, a system by which they could purchase their freedom in installments through payments in cash or work — and from then on, live like the whites, exploiting the work of their own slaves. This is another surprising statement: that Africans themselves, when freed, enslaved their fellow men, which is not even questioned or denounced in a text that advocates the freedom of Africans.

The 1780 edition eliminates this part but replaces it with one that is even more astonishing. Without referring to any particularly location, it states that in Brazil, there was no specific law for the slaves, who were judged according to the common law. Because the masters were obliged to feed their captives, they set aside a piece of land that they could farm for their own benefit on holidays and Sundays. Those who were more “sages & laborieux” would eventually end up purchasing their freedom, which was rarely denied them. Even so they could demand it at a set price, set by custom, whenever they felt oppressed. This was said to be the reason why, despite the ease of hiding out on that vast continent, there were no escaped slaves in Brazil! The few exceptions occurred in the mining region, and there, the fugitives, living in remote areas and poverty, only produced enough for their own subsistence (1780, I.9, p.409-410). If the first piece of information — about the existence of a “peasant breach”<sup>30</sup> for the captives, whose surplus production could be used to buy their freedom — can be empirically verified to some extent, the latter, that there were virtually no *quilombos* (maroon communities), is an idealized view, possibly betraying the Portuguese sources that inspired the attribution of a mild nature to black slavery in Brazil, which is accentuated over the course of the three editions. Through the mechanism of manumission, the “noirs, qui ont brisé leurs chaines, jouissent du droit de cite comme les mulâtres.” Despite that social rise, blacks and mulattos were excluded from the priesthood and municipal posts. However, they had access to military posts in batallions reserved exclusively for people of their

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30 Historians of Brazil only rediscovered this practice in the 1980s. CARDOSO, 1988, p.49-57.



color (1780, l.9, f.410). When describing these militias, the text informs us that “les negres & les mulâtres ont des drapeaux particuliers, & les Indiens combattent avec les blancs,” suggesting that the Amerindians were more assimilated than blacks and mulattos without much discussion (1780, l.9, f.408).

Although there are prior allusions to it in the travel literature, we can identify in the pages of *Histoire des deux Indes* the birth of the interpretation of the mildness of Brazilian slavery which, much later, would find an echo and be immortalized in the works of Gilberto Freyre (who cites it), and for a long time became predominant in Brazilian historiography.<sup>31</sup> One of the first to find this information in Raynal's writing and reproduce it may have been G.W.F. Hegel, according to whom the Portuguese were more humane than the Dutch, Spanish and British. This made it easier for slaves to obtain manumission in Brazil, where there was a large number of free blacks.<sup>32</sup> Although Jonathan Israel's statement that *Histoire des deux Indes* “carries anti-slavery on to a new level of mobilization and combat” and “derived [from it] the passionate...hostility to slavery and ardent conviction that the *philosophie* would in the end destroy” (2011, p.416) is valid for the work as a whole, when it targets Brazilian slavery, the war machine fired at all kinds of oppression once again loses some of its power due to its defense of the mildness of that institution.

## ABBÉ RAYNAL AND PORTUGUESE CREOLES

If Raynal presents a positive view of the Amerindians and a relatively benign outlook on slavery, apparently the same cannot be said about the settlers. However, the analyses of these matters are not entirely consistent within each edition, much less among them. The 1774 edition

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31 FREYRE, (1933), 1992. However, Freyre only cites Reynal (sic) in regard to other matters (p.50) and he also appears in the final bibliography, while Freyre profusely cites the French travelers of the eighteenth century onwards.

32 HEGEL, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Lecciones sobre la filosofia de la Historia Universal*. (1830). Madrid: Tecnos, 2005, p.268.

provides a subtitle for that section, “Quels furent les premiers colons que le Portugal envoya dans le Brésil” (1774, I.9, p.322). Let us see how those first settlers are described.

The Portuguese Crown initially had no interest in Brazil because there was no gold or silver there, and only sent convicts and “femmes perdues par leurs débauches” to its shores. Those first settlers are said to have included “malfaiteurs qu’on y avoir d’abord exilés” (1770, I.9, p.323-324). The Crown’s perception that “une colonie pouvait devenir utile à la métropole autrement que par des métaux” led it to consider Brazil “comme un cloaque où aboutissement toutes les immondices de la monarchie” (1770, I.9, p.327). Those deportees and prostitutes were joined by “les infortunes que l’Inquisition voulut proscrire.” They were Jews whose persecution had begun with the establishment of the Inquisition, “ce tribunal de sang” (1770, I.9, p.324) that extended from Portugal to Africa and Brazil, based on the credulity that reigned throughout a “bigote & barbare” Europe (1770, I.9, p.325). When they established themselves in Brazil, the Jews took their resources with them, and it was thanks to them that sugarcane was introduced, brought over from the Island of Madeira (1770, I.9, p.327).<sup>33</sup>

In general, the Portuguese settlers appear early in the book, sometimes described on the scale of Brazil, when discussing the war against the Dutch and the break with Spain, and sometimes analyzed in the different territories. Afterwards, it returns to some general considerations. But the judgments made are far from being a univocal assessment. Moreover, while one section discusses topics from the travel literature of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,<sup>34</sup> we have found

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33 This information, which comes from an unknown source, is somewhat inaccurate. Sugarcane cultivation was introduced in 1532 by Martim Afonso de Sousa. Esse, who built a sugar mill and formed a partnership with Erasmus Schetz, a financier from Antwerp, who later became the sole owner of the mill, which then became known as the Engenho dos Erasmus. This partnership may have given rise to the assertion that the Jews introduced sugarcane cultivation in Brazil. See FURTADO, 2015, p.110, p.116.

34 See, among others: TAUNAY, Afonso de Escagnolle. Na Bahia Colonial 1610-1764. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 144, t. 90, p.237-554, 1921; TAUNAY, Afonso

no known writings that could have inspired another section that reports on more recent events.

The first territory to merit detailed references to Portuguese settlement is São Vicente (1770, 1.9, p.339), which in part adheres to the image of the initial process of colonization. According to Raynal,

les Portugais qui le fondèrent, furent les malfaiteurs qu'on avait d'abord envoyés dans le nouveau monde...ils prirent des naturels du Pays pour femmes, & devinrent en peu de tems si corrompus que leurs compatriotes rompirent tout commerce avec eux..., l'amour de la liberté leurs firent désirer d'être indépendants...des bandits de toutes les nations accourent pour se joindre à eux, & en peu d' années la nouvelle république se trouva considérable (1770, 1.9, p.374).

The epic story of the Paulistas (settlers of and from São Paulo), described as “bold thieves,” is partly inspired by the descriptions by the Jesuits published in *Lettres édifiantes*,<sup>35</sup> showing them in action in all territories, from the Amazon to the new eighteenth-century mining areas. Returning to the “common opinion,” Raynal says the discovery of gold mines resulted in the encounter, in 1695, between the “Portuguese” from Rio de Janeiro and the Paulistas (1770, 1.9, p.384-5). But the final topic is that the latter, who initially formed an autonomous and irreducible republic, would eventually accept the authority of the Court. Moreover, although there are other allusions to “Portuguese” settlers elsewhere, the next territory where a detailed characterization of them appears is Bahia de Todos os Santos (1770, 1.9, p.384-385).

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de Escragnoille. *Rio de Janeiro de Antanho: impressões de viajantes estrangeiros*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1925; FRANÇA, José Marcel Carvalho. *Visões do Rio de Janeiro colonial: antologia de textos (1531-1800)*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1999; FRANÇA, Jean Marcel Carvalho; RAMINELLI, Ronald. *Andanças pelo Brasil Colonial*. Catálogo Comentado (1503-1808). São Paulo: Ed. Unesp, 2008; DOMINGUES, 2012, p.231-257.

35 Critical references to the “Mamelus Portugais du Bresil” appear in volume 12 of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Ecrites des missions étrangères* on the missions in Paraguay (vol. 12, 1717, p.27 et seq.).

The 2,000 houses that comprised São Salvador<sup>36</sup> were said to be, for the most part, “magnifiquement bâties,” and despite ancient and recent sumptuary laws (1749)<sup>37</sup> banning luxurious dress, according to Raynal, gold could even be seen in the clothing of slaves used for domestic service (yet another reference to the benignity of slavery in Brazil). He also insists, returning to a topic covered by foreign travelers,<sup>38</sup> on the strict segregation of the sexes and the rare public visibility of women (white women, presumably), which did not prevent them from having lovers or becoming prostitutes, because “c’est ainsi que s’enchainent tous les vices de la corruption à la suite des richesses.” Superstition, avarice, “une indolence qui se repose entièrement sur des esclaves du soin de ses plaisirs & des affaires: tous les vices qui sont épars ou rassemblés dans les pays méridionaux les plus corrompus, formes le caractère des Portugais de Bahia” (1770, l.9, p.382-383). But Raynal believed there was hope: “Cependant on espère que les moeres dont la teinte s’est déjà assoiblie [sic] se dépouilleront encore d’une partie de leur corruption, à mesure que le gouvernement de la métropole s’éclairera.” Therefore, it was their customs that were corrupt, and Raynal hoped the mother country’s “enlightened” reforms would change that. Indeed, “les derniers des Portugais uniquement occupés du commerce du tabac & de quelques autres marchandises croiraient s’avilir en exerçant les arts,” to which the freedpersons did not devote themselves, either due to lack of talent or interest (1770, l.9, p.383).

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36 A reference taken up from FRÉZIER, Amédée Louis. *Relation du voyage de la Mer du sud aux côtes du Chily et du Pérou, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714*. Paris: Chez Jean-Geoffroy Nyon, Etienne Ganneau et Jacques Quillau, 1716.

37 Sumptuary Law of May 24, 1749.

38 Beginning in the sixteenth century, several European travelers visited Brazil and left reports of their impressions. Raynal had access to several of the accounts of French travelers deposited in the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Those by François Froger, who visited Bahia and Rio de Janeiro in 1695, and L’Arc-en-Ciel, who went there in 1748, seem to be two of the French sources used for those areas and São Paulo, repeating these topics for the residents of each of those places. See those accounts in FRANÇA, Jean Marcel Carvalho. *Visões do Rio de Janeiro colonial: antologia de textos (1531-1800)*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1999, p.49-55, p.80-86.

To a great extent, the so-called Portuguese of Bahia seem to have inspired Raynal's most interesting generic considerations on the subject, only partly associated with previous travel literature. In fact, the abbé not only combats the trading companies in the name of free commerce but favors the abolition of the law prohibiting foreigners from living in Brazil. He argues that less than fifty years earlier, one could see Dutch, British and French homes there, and that now an effort should be made to get them to establish themselves and grow. It is not that, in absolute terms, "cette vaste contrée manque de blancs." He estimates that their population makes up 600,000 souls, and adds, "on n'en voit pas tant dans aucune colonie; mais ces Portugais Créoles qui ont la plupart épousé des mulâtresses sont si indolents, si corrompus, si passionnément livrés à leurs plaisirs, qu'ils sont devenus incapables des moindres soins, d'aucune occupation suivie." And he concludes: "peut-être n'est-il possible de redonner du ressort à cette race dégénérée qu'en mettant sous ses yeux des hommes laborieux auxquels on distribuera des terrains convenables" (1770, l.9, p.423). Brazil was the result of that racial mixture among whites, blacks and mulattos, which had supposedly produced a degenerate and corrupt race, and only the immigration of white Europeans could partly rectify it!

In short, in the 1770 edition, when referring to the colonists, Raynal calls them "Creole Portuguese" in the Hispanic sense of the term, used to designate whites in the Spanish Americas. This is an expression that was rarely used in Portuguese America, both at that time and later on. He deems them to be a "degenerate race," married to mulatto women, indolent and corrupt (in their customs), incapable of useful occupation. In this sense, the diagnosis appears to be similar to the one he gives for the Portuguese in India — equally degenerate and of mixed race (Xavier, 2014, p.114-115). Moreover, although he describes it as the most populous European colony, he does not associate Brazil with any recent process of migration originating in Portugal. On the contrary, he supports the immigration of "industrious men" from Northern Europe, to whom land would be distributed, adding that, to that end, it would be appropriate to put a stop to the rampages of the Holy Inquisition!

A final reference to the Portuguese in this edition emerges in regard to the lay and regular clergy, whose powers Raynal thinks should be strictly limited, revealing the anticlerical aspect of the text. In his opinion, they devoted themselves to despoiling the “savage” populations and had a very bad influence. “Il faut le réduire à ce point, si l’on veut que les Portugais qui habitent le Brésil osent se soustraire à sa tyrannie. Peut-être même les préjugés dont ces habitants se trouvent imbus par, une éducation vicieuse & monastique, ont-ils trop vieilli dans leur esprit, pour en être arrachés. La lumière, semble, réservée aux générations suivantes.” The solution he proposes is clear: “On peut hâter cette révolution, si l’on oblige les grands propriétaires à faire élever leurs enfants en Europe; si l’on réforme & perfectionne l’institution publique en Portugal” (1770, l.9, p.427-428). In other words, this time the Portuguese in Brazil are, to a great extent, identified with the major landowners who have the wherewithal to send their sons to study in Europe.

These sections reappear almost intact in the 1774 edition. However, there are significant changes, additions and rearrangements in the 1780 edition. The reference to the “degenerate race of Creole Portuguese” remains (1774, l.9, p.177), but is considerably reduced. However, a new chapter on the administration appears with a suggestive addition about blacks and whites. Regarding blacks, it states: “Rarement, les blancs donnent-ils leur nom aux femmes de cette couleur. La plupart se contentent de former avec elles des liaisons illégales. Ce commerce, que les mœurs autorisent, ne diffère guère du mariage dans une région où tout homme dispose de sa fortune au gré de ses caprices & de passions” (1780, l.9, p.410). Thus, the same topic (miscegenation) is successively revisited with different emphases, in which a condemnatory tone prevails. But these aspects cannot be assessed without analyzing what is said about the administration.

## **ABBÉ RAYNAL AND THE LUSO-BRAZILIAN ADMINISTRATION**

The 1770 edition was published during the reign of José I (1750-1777) and his powerful prime minister and Secretary of State, Sebastião de

Carvalho, who was already the Marquis de Pombal.<sup>39</sup> Pombal is never referred to directly, although there are several references to the “ministry” or the “court of Lisbon” regarding his actions. The treatment of the Pombaline administration is clearly ambivalent: although the prospects for reform and, notoriously, the Indian Directorate, are extolled, Raynal also fiercely condemns the Pombaline companies and their monopolies and the cruel treatment meted out to those who resisted their creation in the city of Oporto.<sup>40</sup> The text includes some of the more recent information. For example, it provides data on the trade balances until 1766 (1770, l.9, p.413), goes into detail about the city of Salvador, describing how it flourished as a result of the viceroys’ interests (see below) and deals with the “commander” of Rio de Janeiro in a cursory fashion, although he already “had the title of viceroy” (1770, l.9, p.423). However, while there are recurrent references to the “court of Lisbon” and its “ministry” in Portugal or Lisbon, its main figures are never named, although great expectations of reform are placed upon them.

The references to what the subsequent editions will designate as the “gouvernement” appear in scattered and varied places in the first editions (1770 and 1774). Thus, it is said that Brazil was “abandonné au seuls caprices de colons” until it was deemed “digne de quelque administration” under the government of Tomé de Sousa, sent by the Crown in 1549 “pour le régler & pour le conduire,” because his “éclairé” government “eut assujetti à l’ordre des hommes toujours vécu dans l’anarchie” (1770, l.9, p.327). Much further on, it stresses that the viceroys of Brazil obstructed freedom of trade and adds, “comme l’intérêt de leur fortune et de leur grandeur demandait que toutes les affaires de la colonie aboutissent à la capitale, ils réussirent à les retenir, après avoir eu l’adresse de les y attirer” (1770, l.9, p.380). This was said to source of the city of São Salvador’s prosperity.

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39 See MAXWELL, 1995, published in Portuguese as MAXWELL, 1997; and MONTEIRO, 2008.

40 A reference to the Oporto Revolt of 1757 against the creation of the Companhia das Vinhas do Alto Douro, which was punished with particular cruelty. See SILVA, 1990.

Another surprising allusion arises regarding gold and diamonds that, together with a rich culture, were said to have made Brazil “la première colonie du monde.” In this respect it is suggested that the mines were in the hands of the Paulistas or vulnerable to their raids and “comme le nombre & la valeur de ces brigands ne permettaient pas d’espérer qu’on les réduirait par la force à l’obéissance, on prit le parti de négocier avec eux.” According to Raynal, in about 1730, through the intervention of an “eloquent and active” man (possibly an allusion to the Count das Galveias and the Juntas he organized with the presidents of Minas Gerais city councils), “ils consentirent à payer, comme ses autres Portugais le Quint de leur or; mais ils rejoind eux-mêmes à quoi devoir monter ce tribut, et il ne fut jamais ce qu’il devoir être. Le gouvernement était assez sage pour fermer les yeux.” As a result, “la république entière reconnut l’autorité de la cour de Lisbonne, de la même manière que tous les Portugais qui étoient dans le Brésil” (1770, l.9, p.391).

Finally, further references emerge within the context of proposed reforms (both in the 1770 and 1774 editions): “Le Brésil qui n’a d’autre défaut que d’être trop grand pour le Portuga...le gouvernement y sera réformé.” And the diagnosis of the problems comes further on:

L’exécution de ces lois sera assurée, si les emplois ne sont pas vendus, & si l’on choisit, avec le soin convenable les commandants de Para, de la Bahia, de Rio-Janeiro, indépendants les uns des autres; quoiqu’elle dernier ait le titre de vice-roi...la vigilance des trois chefs fera finir les trahisons, les atrocités, que les Portugais Brésiliens se permettent depuis trop longtemps, ou qu’ils exercent par le ministère de leurs esclaves (1770, l.9, p.420; 1774, l.9, p.477).

Thus, Raynal suddenly denounces the failure to apply the law, the sale of offices, the poor choice of governors and the “atrocities” of the “Brazilian Portuguese,” committed, in part, not against, but through its slaves!

However, the most drastic and striking changes would appear in the 1780 edition, published when Pombal was no longer in power. In



addition to several sporadic additions, as we have said, there is an entirely new chapter on the civil, military and religious government established in Brazil, distinct from those published on each captaincy. Although historians have made little use of them, these additions accentuate a positive and even justificatory view of the colonial administration in Brazil and recent reforms (by the Pombal administration). It should be added that a great deal of information is supplied concisely and is generally very rigorous, supposing surprisingly confident knowledge of the subjects being addressed.

From the beginning, Raynal stresses that Brazil was divided into nine “provinces, toutes conduites par un comendant particulier.” Then, he states that the different leaders should follow the general regulations the viceroys issue but they are “comme indépendants de leur autorité,” because they received orders and reported directly to Lisbon. They were said to be appointed for three-year terms, but their mission usually lasted longer. Once in the Americas, the law forbade them from marrying, being involved in trade, accepting the smallest gifts or receiving salaries, which was said to be “rigoureusement observe depuis quelques années.” Raynal also states that “rien n’est plus rare aujourd’hui qu’une fortune faite ou même commence dans les postes du Nouveau-Monde”! He later stresses that everyone was supposed to report on their conduct and that “citizens of all ranks” were allowed to make accusations against them (1780, I.9, p.406-407), possibly an allusion to the residencies, through which the performance of the authorities was evaluated at the end of their terms in office.

The description of the judicial system begins by declaring that the system in Brazil was the same as in Portugal, stressing that the justices of each constituency could appeal to the higher courts of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, and those courts, to Lisbon, underscoring that the second instance in Grão Pará and Maranhão was directly linked to the metropolis, and that the criminal justice system followed other paths. Raynal then seeks to summarize in one paragraph the performance of the orphans’ courts, suggesting with some exaggeration that “le vice de cette institution, d’ailleurs judicieuse, c’est que les créanciers du Brésil

ne peuvent être payés qu'en Europe." Finally, he refers to the financial administration of each province by the commander/governor and four magistrates. Again, the allusion to Pombal's Treasury Juntas is positive because it reports that the royal treasury in the metropolis discussed the results of their operations "très sévèrement" (1780, I.9, p.407).

The reference to the city councils is also noteworthy. "Il n'y a point de ville ni même de bourg un peu considérable qui n'ait une assemblée municipale. Elle doit veiller aux petits intérêts qui lui font confiés et régler, sous l'inspection du commandant les légères taxes dont elle a besoin. On lui a accordé plusieurs privilèges, celui en particulier de pouvoir attaquer au pied du trône le chef de la colonie." That is, it stresses the idea of self-government in local matters, a subject on which historians have only recently focused, but the highlight is the possibility of complaining to Lisbon about the behavior of the "head of the colony" (1780, I.9, p.408). Also in the 1780 edition, it is stressed that the military organization was equal to that of Europe and that, in addition to the (paid) troops made available to each governor, citizens who were not noblemen were organized into militias, except in the hinterland, but they were said to be active in Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio. As we have seen, Raynal distinguishes between the battalions formed by blacks and those made up of Amerindians and whites, and the regular troops would have amounted to 15,890 soldiers and the militias to 21,850 men (1780, I.9, p.408).

As in the other volumes of his work, Raynal is highly critical of the clergy. Stressing that the king received ecclesiastical tithes as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, he states that the six bishops of Brazil whose metropolis was the archdiocese of Bahia, almost all Europeans, were happy and lived very comfortably from the fees they charged and a pension given to them by the authorities. About the "subaltern" clergy, he only says only that in the Amerindian villages, the missionaries were living solely on what the government paid them, underscoring that other lay clergy charged fees for church services: "L'avidité des prêtres s'est même portée jusqu'à doubler ce honteux salaire dans la région des mines" (1780, I.9, p.408-409). About the regular clergy, Raynal observes,

with some exaggeration, that “on tolère quelques asiles pour des vieilles filles à Bahia & à Rio-Janeiro: mais jamais il ne fut permis dans le Brésil, de fonder aucun couvent pour des religieuses,” probably referring to the ban on the establishment of convents and nunneries in Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century. However, he says, the monks had more facilities. There were said to be twenty-two religious houses, “dont, les deux plus riches font occupées par des bénédictins, aussi libertins qu’oisifs,” but none in the “pays de l’or.” Finally, he stresses that, even without its own Inquisition, Brazil was not shielded from the attacks of that court and the colony’s clergy, chosen as its agents, and criticizes, in particular, its fanaticism, stating that the most frequent charge levied by the Inquisition was Judaism. Its most recent onslaughts were said to have occurred between 1702 and 1718. Presumably, after the latter date, the Inquisition was less present (1780, l.9, p.409).

Although the following paragraphs of that chapter focus on slaves, in the surprising vein already mentioned, it is important to stress that those and several other parts of the 1780 edition seem to credit it to the Pombaline reforms underway, which, with the exception of the monopoly on trade, are described in a highly positive manner.

### **ABBÉ RAYNAL AND THE INDIAN DIRECTORATE**

One aspect of Pombaline policies that is highlighted in *Histoire des deux Indes* is the Law of Liberties for Amerindians (1755) and subsequent legislation that culminated in the so-called Indian Directorate (1757) in the context of conflicts with the Jesuits and the subjugation of the former missions to the secular jurisdiction of the State.<sup>41</sup> It is surprising, not only because Raynal discusses that topic but due to the manner in which it does so. To introduce it, he begins with a description of the degeneration of the administration of Amerindians in the early eighteenth century as a result of the activities of missionaries and administrators. That way, in a Manichean fashion, he contrasts that decadence with the

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<sup>41</sup> In this regard, see the recent overview in ALMEIDA, 2015, p.175-214.

regenerating policies of the Directorate. After dealing with the natives as enemies, “de los opprimer, de les mettre aux fers,” which turned them into savages as a result, by the mid-seventeenth century, after driving out the Dutch, the Portuguese decided to gather those Brazilians “dans des villages qu’on distribua sur les côtes, ou peut avant dans les terres.” According to *Histoire des deux Indes*, the aim was to “mettre dans leur colonie un ordre que n’y avoir [?] jamais été, même avant la guerre.” These missions were in contact with Portuguese establishments and those Amerindians who did not submit to them were dealt with by force.<sup>42</sup> This extermination is said to have resulted in no more than 200,000 survivors, most of whom were forced to live in the missions. These were handed over to the management of the Jesuits, who took care of their spiritual and temporal administration. However, unlike the missionaries during the early days of colonization, the Jesuits are now portrayed as despots<sup>43</sup> who “entretenaient ces petites sociétés dans une enfance perpétuelle, n’avançaient pas leur raison, ni jusqu’à un certain point leur industrie” and were responsible for obstructing the advance of the Amerindians’ process of civilization. The Portuguese had exempted the Amerindians from paying tax, but from that time on, those who were housed in the missions were subjected to forced labor, which was a type of *corvée*. Raynal criticizes the fact that that “loi funeste les mettait dans la dépendance des comandants & des magistrats voisins, qui, sous le prétexte si familier aux gens en place, de los employer pour besoins publics, les sacrifiaient trop solvant à leur service” (1774, I.9, p.350-352). This is apparently a reference to the War of the Barbarians, when the colonizers launched violent campaigns against the natives in 1683, with the aim of occupying vast swathes of land in the northeastern hinterland, and the signing in 1694 of the new *Administrações dos índios* (Indian Administration

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42 This new policy on missions or *aldeamentos* was intensely debated among Brazilian Jesuits. See BOSI, 1992, p.149-164.

43 In the 1780 edition, Raynal situates the change on the Order’s operations in Brazil at precisely that moment: “le dix-huitième siècle n’aurait pas à rougir des atrocités qui ont accompagné son anéantissement. L’univers continuerait à être arrosé de leurs sueurs & secondé par leurs entreprises” (1780, I.9, p.374).

Acts; Puntoni, 2002) in the Town of São Paulo. According to Raynal, the indigenous peoples were either forced into slave labor or exterminated, opening up the hinterland to Luso-Brazilian expansion (1774, l.9, p.352).

*Histoire des deux Indes* describes the Portuguese measures to confine Brazilians to the missions after the Dutch wars as tyrannical, because it blames them for having reinforced the Amerindians' natural indolence, hatred of work and disdain for money under the control of the Jesuits. In those missions, most natives did not have any sort of occupation, merely carrying out the basic tasks required for their subsistence, such as fishing, hunting and planting a little cassava: "leurs manufactures se réduisaient à des ceintures de coton, pour couvrir leur nudité, & à l'arrangement de quelques plumages, pour ornait leur tête" (1770, l.9, p.353-355; 1774, l.9, p.352). Once again, we see a reversal of the traditional roles expected from both peoples, and the language makes that reversal clear. Words like tyranny, fanaticism, vice, corruption and dependence are used to describe the activities of the Portuguese and Jesuits, and are contrasted with others like reason, meekness, humanity, industry, virtue and prosperity, which are attributed to the Brazilians.

According to *Histoire des deux Indes*, the few Brazilians who managed to escape the missions after 1683, remaining independent, "n'eurent guère de rapport avec les Européens," except for selling them some slaves, whom they hunted among themselves. Hostile acts became rare and "finirent enfin tout-à-fait. Depuis 1717, les Portugais n'ont pas été troublés par les naturels du pays, & eux-mêmes non sont pas inquiètes depuis 1756" (1770, l.9, p.352). Note that Raynal shows his thorough knowledge of the timeline that marks the main milestones in Portuguese indigenist policy. Indeed, near the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, there was said to be a cooling of the conflicts that, generally speaking, situates the end of the so-called War of the Barbarians at around that time.<sup>44</sup> Of course, occasional conflicts continued to flare up

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<sup>44</sup> Pedro Puntoni states that after "1712-13 no further major battles would erupt in the backlands of northern State of Brazil. In this regard, we can close the chapter on the main period of indigenous revolts of the second half of the seventeenth century" (2002, p.283).

between the two sides, albeit intermittently. Therefore, Raynal marks the end of that situation of isolation and the beginning of a new rapprochement as being 1756, referring to the Indian Directorate.

In the 1780 edition, Raynal begins to distinguish between two different fates for the Amerindians of Brazil as of that year, 1756. “Dans les provinces de Pernambouc, de Bahia, de Rio de Janeiro, les Brésiliens sont restés mêlés avec les Portugais, avec les negres & n’ont pas changé de caractère.” Once again, he condemns the state for the inactivity to which the indigenous peoples continued to be subjected, even after the missions were closed, but there is a new factor — he no longer blames the Jesuits. Instead, it is due to the contact between them and the Portuguese and blacks, once again a condemnation of racial mixture. In that new order, it was not possible to “travaillé à les éclairer; parce qu’on n’a rien tenté pour vaincre leur paresse naturelle; parce qu’on ne leur a pas distribué des terres; parce qu’on ne leur a pas fait les avances qui auraient pu exciter leur émulation” (1780, l.9, p.413). Meanwhile, in Pará, Maranhão, Mato Grosso, Goiás and São Paulo, the Amerindians were said to be gathered in seventeen “bourgades,” each presided over by a white man who decided on occupations, managed farming, made purchases on behalf of the community, and punished and rewarded the Amerindians under his administration (1780, l.9, p.413). Although the new missions are referred to as “bourgades,” that is, cities, the description faithfully describes the local administration called for in the Indian Directorate, which covers what Raynal is describing.

However, in 1770, Raynal is an apologist for the Directorate, extolling Pombal’s ministry (without naming him) for having preferred “la liberté des Brésiliens, comme le plus sûr, le moins dispendieux & le plus humain.” He stresses that from 1755 forward, all subjects of the Crown, whether “volontaires ou forces,” became “citoyens dans toute l’étendue du terme,” acquiring the same rights as Europeans without any other obligations: “la même carrière est ouverte à leur talents & ils peuvent arriver aux même honneurs.” This was said to be “une révolution favorable à l’humanité...même au milieu du dix-huitième siècle, de se siècle de lumières, de philosophie.” This was a measure that benefited

the public good and Raynal hoped that this new system would “avoir le succès qu'on s'en est promis.” As a result, the Brazilians would devote themselves to agriculture, produce more crops, “& avec le tems tout le Brésil se trouverait civilisé. La confiance s'établirait entre les Américains & les Européens, & ils ne formeraient qu'un peuple.” The Directorate was seen to be the final redemption of civilization over the barbarism the Europeans had perpetrated in the New World, and as a result of that revolution, a new commercial order would prevail in which there was a perfect and reciprocal balance between the interests of the metropolis and the colony, imposing harmony between those two poles. In short, Raynal enthuses that “les Portugais auraient réparé par un seul acte d'humanité tous les maux qu'ils on faits aux habitants du nouveau monde” (1770, I.9, p.398-400). In the 1780 edition, he states that “ce ne fut qu'en 1755 que tous les Brésiliens furent réellement libres. Le gouvernement les déclara citoyens,” continuing his praise of Pombaline policies, which could ensure “du bonheur des nations,” passionately advocated by Enlightenment philosophers and *Histoire des deux Indes* (1780, I.9, p.411-412).

If Raynal's praise for the Directorate changes little over the course of the three editions, the same cannot be said of that institution's full effectiveness. Greatly distressed, in 1770 Raynal states that unfortunately all those high hopes were nothing but illusions because the Portuguese preferred to subjugate the Brazilians to forced labor, making them useful, while the later were so docile that they could do nothing to resist (1770, I.9, p.400). However, in the 1780 edition, he rejoices that “un des hommes les plus éclairés qui aient jamais vécu dans le Brésil” (D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, who had never been to the Americas, but contacted Raynal in France...),<sup>45</sup> “m'a répété cent fois que les Indiens qu'on laisse maitres de

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45 In 1780, Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho traveled to France, where he met with the abbé on a few occasions. Along with his father, he was an important informant for Raynal regarding the Portuguese empire. Later on, he became a central figure in Portuguese politics. He was Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Affairs (1796-1800), President of the Royal Treasury (1801-1803) and Secretary of Foreign Affairs and War (1808-1812). DINIZ SILVA, 2002, book I, p.79-80; book II, p.99.

leurs actions dans la colonie Portugaise, sont supérieurs en intelligence & en industrie à ceux qui sont tenus dans une tutelle perpétuelle” (1780, l.9, p.413). In this respect, the information the enlightened Portuguese had given him made him a believer in the Directorate as an institution that could improve the state of civilization of the Amerindians, which is greatly desired by *Histoire des deux Indes*. Again, Pombaline policy and the Portuguese state are described positively, and this assessment is an important interpretive key that the book provides. If, in the first edition, the Brazilians in their natural state are the positive counterpoint to decadent, so-called civilized European society, we see a reversal in the 1780 edition. Not only does this primitive idyll dissolve under the weight of the cannibalism of the Brazilian natives but redemption toward a policed society would come in the form of the enlightened policies undertaken within the European nations themselves, as was the case of Portugal under Pombal.

## CONCLUSION

We have not attempted to analyze *Histoire des deux Indes* in its entirety in this paper, choosing instead to focus on some of the topics in book 9, which covers the colonization of Brazil. Indeed, although it always includes sections of the original 1770 version, that book underwent significant changes between the first and third editions regarding the matters we have discussed: Amerindians, or Brazilians; slaves, Creole Portuguese, and the colonial administration, particularly the Indian Directorate.

If Raynal's first and primary interest in Brazil had to do with native Brazilians, occupying 79 pages (albeit with some interruptions) of the total of 111 in Book 9 of the 1770 edition, corresponding to 87.6 percent of the total, that interest decreases considerably in the final edition published in 1780, where the Amerindians occupy just 75 pages of the total of 188, that is, about 40 percent of the text. This did not occur by chance. It is explained by the fact that in the first version, the natives are not of interest in and of themselves but because they are used in an



educational project: extolling the natural goodness of primitive people before the arrival of the Europeans, who disturbed that idyll and are portrayed as being guilty of the evils of colonization. Several examples are given to show that the natural state was superior to that of European policed states. In this regard, it is not surprising that, since the first edition, regenerating potential is attributed to Portuguese laws on the Indian Directorate, which is believed to be capable of establishing the redemption of civilization over barbarism and promoting the common good in an exemplary fashion.

In the third edition published in 1780, there are not only proportionally fewer pages devoted to the Amerindians, but that interpretive key is obliterated by the emphatic condemnation of cannibalism. Praise for the Indian Directorate Act is followed by clear recognition that its application was limited to the territories of Pará, Mato Grosso, Goiás, Maranhão and São Paulo, excluding the rest of Brazil. In those first areas, although there is some doubt that it was fully implemented, it is praised as the redemption of philosophy. Furthermore, the vast amount of information in that third edition makes it lose the consistency and interpretative coherency of its references to the Amerindians, while making it a very rich source for scholars of Brazilian history due to the detailed data it provides.

Despite the lesser degree of internal consistency and the more random treatment given to the subjects covered, the question of slavery is seen in all editions with the surprising interpretation of the mildness of the form of slavery that was structured in Brazil. In the first edition, blacks are portrayed as being in harmonious symbiosis with the natives and whites, becoming an active arm of a society that despises labor, whether by nature, as in the case of the Amerindians, or due to degeneracy, as in the case of the *mestiços*. The absolutely essential aspect is that, since the first edition, Raynal stresses that slaves had access to manumission, which, given the work's widespread readership, means that that image of the mildness of slavery in Brazil was disseminated throughout Europe. However, in the 1780 edition, a surprising and unexpected conclusion reinforces that outlook even more, because it

attributes those same manumissions since the eighteenth century to the presumed absence of quilombos in Brazil!

Furthermore, in all three editions, there is a relatively positive view of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, although this does not apply to the so-called Creoles, which is how Raynal refers to the people of Portuguese descent born in the colony. On the contrary, whether they are in São Paulo or Bahia, they are always described as being actors who have interbred with Amerindian or African women, and Raynal takes a dim view of the miscegenation invariably attributed to them. In the latter case, and in general references, the Creoles are attributed a propensity to indolence and idleness, which could only be compensated by the arrival of active immigrants from northern Europe — a solution that becomes a constant as of the nineteenth century in the discourse of those aiming to civilize Brazil.

However, the overall view of the Portuguese administration finds little to criticize and even much to praise in the 1780 edition. Whereas implicit sympathy for Pombal's ministry (albeit never mentioning him by name) is present since the first edition, although Raynal condemns the trade monopoly, the final edition actually states, among other things, that the governors of the captaincies were not corrupt, that the city councils could contest their measures, and that the captaincies' finances were well supervised. Nearly everything but the clergy appears to be included in that idealized outlook.

With respect to Brazil, a close reading of all editions of *Histoire des deux Indes* shows that the deletions, especially in the section regarding native Brazilians, serve to weaken the work's line of interpretation in that volume. One could even go so far as to say that, in contrast with the ideas disseminated by current historians regarding the most widely read work of the eighteenth century, Raynal's ninth book, devoted to Brazil, ceases to be a "war machine" in the 1770, 1774 and 1780 editions. It is not by chance that the pages devoted to the United States, and not to Portuguese America, were found in the libraries of the Inconfidente rebels and alleged Brazilian conspirators of the late eighteenth century...

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